S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of

S [184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N 563 794 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among

177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and

• 184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/Salars/

563 794 177 184 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

44 62 202 203 The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

563 794 795 The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 794 [798] [346] Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, [562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home neighborhood.

563 794 95 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation. It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

707 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest
184 China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity.

241 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies.
233 From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is
182 mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

B. Surface Features.

133 The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

S
563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[197]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
*563 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the
• 184 great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

*563 621 769 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 621 184 795 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. [346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is [871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if [785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in [796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they". [794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no [578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and [798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 184 628 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the

*563 184 628 369 463 Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found [578] only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 463 621 578 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 621 184 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. [651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the [361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit [162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 628 197 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
[167] a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
[621]

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
77 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

*563 There is little information about social classes and land tenure
565 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
423 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
[184] have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [799] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese

N 769 *563 778 Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 582 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 584 [431] The bridegroom's family sends gifts to the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding. Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

*563 585 [583] After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

*563 585 593 If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

*563 585 [184] The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get married and form a family will suffice.

[586] Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders. Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

*563 586 Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however, with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If, the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. Inthe northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

*563 264 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 504 507 262 • 184 556 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The formal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 291 c. Clothing

Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the [556] ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

[556] No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[793] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 302 [184] Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*563 658 871 *175 3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools and students as of 1945 was as follows:

Table 4

563 87 162 No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945

	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yin-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools		
12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools		
129 schools	313	7,198

3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu

*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. Education under the National Government

871 184 During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

658 871 *175 The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people [782] they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 795 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/The Chinese/

knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs. The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin. These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases. Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the existence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth. According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is disturbed, disease follows.

These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated population, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population. In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases. Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China Handbook.

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot, who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sanitation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 199 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent *563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we 795 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in matters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 62 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, cor. munal activity completely overshadows

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 621 • 184 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 722 729 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 162 [562] The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. [157] Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

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175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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184 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
577 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
N But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
S in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
N people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
681 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
184 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The
674 punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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681 and has great prestige; robbery of a chief may be a life-and-death
• 184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
614 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

621 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among
184 the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II. Communist Administration

*668 ### A. The System in General
625 In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

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The local magistrate then has to admit that there is certainly a road to Lonan, but adds that it passes over a terrible mountain. Further enquiries show that it is of course a much used trail of two stages of 90 li each.

We left T'ungkuan at daybreak on April 9th, an immense procession of ponies, mules, chairs, baggage coolies, soldiers, and miscellaneous hangers-on, of which my share amounted to three riding ponies and five pack mules. There are no cart roads in Shensi south of the Ch'inling Shan, and the Chinese always travel where possible in chairs. Having tried all methods of travel in North China I have come to the conclusion that a pacing pony with an American saddle and mules for the baggage are best and quickest, comparative rapidity of movement being an important point in the avoidance of undue fatigue; this method of travel is also far cheaper than chairs and baggage coolies and entails a minimum of friction over transport arrangements. But the tracks of Southern Shensi are very hard on the animals, and it is advisable to carry a good supply of shoes and to have a man in the caravan who can put them on.

The trail runs due south for 40 li ascending gradually over the loess foothills to the hamlet of Haoch'ayu lying at the mouth of a gloomy gorge in the rocky barrier range of mountains which bound the Wei River valley on the south. This range, the backbone of China, starts from the highlands of Northern Tibet and finally loses itself in the plains of Honan, serving all the way as the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, and marking the dividing line between Central and North China; that is to say between rice-eating peoples who cultivate alluvial valleys with water buffaloes and employ coolies for transport, and wheat-eating peoples who cultivate loess plains and uplands and use ponies, mules, and camels for transport. We call these mountains Ch'inling, which is really the Chinese name for the passes across the watershed range.

Entering the narrow stony gorge we followed it for about 20 li till it ended in a steep zigzag climb leading to the pass, which like most passes in China is not a saddle but just the ordinary ridge of the range crossed at the most direct point. Chinese trails always prefer where possible to go straight from point to point across the intervening obstacle rather